

Sierra Popoluca

Sierra Popoluca, also known as **Soteapanec**, **Soteapan Zoque**, or **Highland Popoluca**, is a developing Mixe-Zoquean language of the Zoquean branch.^[3] It has 35,050 speakers (INALI, 2009)^[1] who live in the southern part of Veracruz, Mexico. Sierra Popoluca has two sister languages, Texistepec and Ayapanec, both of which are severely endangered.^[4]

The word *popoluca* means "gibberish" in Nahuatl, and the name Sierra Popoluca comes from the language being labelled as such at the time of conquest. To avoid the derogatory connotations of *popoluca*, some researchers have adopted the name Soteapanec for the language instead (named after the largest municipality it is spoken in). However, modern speakers do not seem to be concerned with the history of the word and simply see it as the name of their language.^[5] Natively, speakers refer to the language as *Nuntajǵyi*, which means "true word," and themselves as *Nundajǵypappǵc*.

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Sierra Popoluca	
Soteapanec	
<i>Nuntajǵyi</i>	
Native to	Mexico
Region	Veracruz
Native speakers	35,050 (INALI, 2009) ^[1]
Language family	Mixe–Zoquean
	▪ Zoquean
	▪ Gulf Zoquean
	▪ Sierra Popoluca
Official status	
Regulated by	INALI
Language codes	
ISO 639-3	poi
Glottolog	high1276 (http://glottolog.org/resource/language/id/high1276) ^[2]
Linguasphere	69-HAB-aa

Distribution

Sierra Popoluca is spoken in the following municipalities:^[6]

- Soteapan
- Tatahuicapan
- Hueyapan de Ocampo

Other communities where it is spoken include Catemaco, Piedra Labrada, and Santa Rosa Cintepec. Nahuatl and Spanish are also spoken in nearby areas, and have influenced Sierra Popoluca through language contact.^[7]

Phonology

Vowels

Sierra Popoluca has twelve vowel phonemes: six distinct short vowels (front vowels /i/ and /ε/, central vowels /ə/ and /a/, and back vowels /u/ and /ɔ/) with a corresponding long vowel for each.^[8]

Vowel Phonemes			
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central-Back</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>High</u>	i iː		u uː
<u>High-mid</u>		ə əː	
<u>Mid</u>	ε εː		ɔ ɔː
<u>Low</u>		a aː	

Consonants

Sierra Popoluca's consonant inventory consists of thirteen consonants.^[8]

Consonant Phonemes					
	<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
<u>Stop</u>	p	t		k	ʔ
<u>Affricate</u>		ts			
<u>Fricative</u>		s			h
<u>Nasal</u>	m	n		ŋ	
<u>Approximant</u>	w		j		
<u>Unspecified segment</u>					H

Some words in Sierra Popoluca contain "an unspecified underlying segment, identified as the segment /H/."^[9] Depending on the environment it appears in, /H/ can alternate in three different ways, as described by the rules below:^[9]

/H/ Alternation Rules

- (1) H → ː / V__C
- (2) H / V__#

→ :h

(3) H → Ø / V__wəm

In addition to its main consonant inventory, Sierra Popoluca also has a restricted phoneme inventory consisting of eleven consonants. These consonants are considered "restricted" because the only words they appear in are either ideophones, Spanish borrowings, or stylistic alterations.^[8]

Restricted Phonemes

	<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Alveo-palatal</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>
<u>Stop</u>	b	d	tʲ, dʲ		g
<u>Affricate</u>			tʃ		
<u>Fricative</u>			ʃ		
<u>Nasal</u>				ɲ	
<u>Liquid</u>		l			
<u>Flap</u>		r			
<u>Trill</u>		r			

Syllable structure

Sierra Popoluca's syllabic template is (C)CV(:)(?)(C)(C). Words containing examples of each syllable structure are given in the table below:^[10]

Syllables

Structure	Word	Translation
CV	[ku.tʲu:m]	'alone'
CV:	['kə:.piʰ]	'firewood'
CVC	['pakʰ]	'bone'
CV:C	['hu:tʲʰ]	'where'
CV?C	['kaʔn.puʔ]	'egg'
CV?CC	[ʔa.'sɔʔps.paʔ]	'it tires me'
CCVC	['traj.tʲiʔ]	'kid, adolescent male'
CCVCC	['kruʔj.tʲiʔ]	'quail'

Sierra Popoluca has phonotactic restrictions on both onset and coda clusters. For onsets, only the clusters /tr/, /kr/, and /kw/ are allowed. For codas, all two consonant clusters must begin with one of /p, k, ʔ/, and three consonant clusters are restricted to only /ʔps/ and /ʔks/.^[11]

Stress

There are three degrees of stress in Sierra Popoluca: primary stress (which may fall on the penultimate or ultimate syllable), secondary stress (which is assigned to the leftmost syllable that is not a clitic), and tertiary stress (which falls on the heaviest syllable preceding primary stress). Words containing examples of each stress paradigm are given in the table below:^[12]

Stress Paradigms

Paradigm	Word	Translation
Primary	nümnéʔ	'He had said.'
Secondary	nùmneʔyájpa	'They have said.'
Tertiary	nùmmàʔyyajtáabam	'They are told.'

Morphology

Sierra Popoluca is an agglutinating, polysynthetic language whose morpheme inventory is primarily inflectional and consists of roughly an equal number of clitics and suffixes, with no prefixes. The morphological processes reduplication and compounding are also observed in Sierra Popoluca.^[13]

Sierra Popoluca has three major word classes: nouns, verbs, and adjectives.^[13]

Suffixes

Sierra Popoluca has 28 suffixes, all of which can be categorized as either derivational, inflectional, or valency adjusting. Nouns only take derivational suffixes whereas verbs take suffixes from all three categories.^[14] Examples of each suffix type are given in the table below:

Suffix Examples

Suffix	Type	Function	Word	Gloss	Translation
-i	Derivational	Nominalizer	wiʔk-i	eat-NOM	'food' ^[15]
-ü	Inflectional	Imperative	koony-ü	sit-IMP	'sit' (command) ^[16]
-ʔü ʔy	Derivational	Provisory	jawanh-ʔüʔy	fever-PROV	'have a fever' ^[17]
-ʔiny	Inflectional	Optative	matonh-ʔiny	listen-OPT	'should listen' ^[16]
-taH	Valency adjusting	Passive	suy-taH	lasso-PASS	'be lassoed' ^[18]

Proclitics

There are 17 proclitics in Sierra Popoluca. Out of these, ten are used for person marking, three are used for valency adjusting, two are derivational, and the final two have other, unique functions. Verbs in Sierra Popoluca can take all proclitic types while nouns can take all but valency adjusting proclitics.^[19] Examples of various proclitics are given in the table below:

Proclitic Examples

Proclitic	Type	Function	Word	Gloss	Translation
<i>ʔan+</i>	Person marking	1st person possessive, exclusive	ʔan+ʔakʔanh	1POSS:EXCL+griddle	'my griddle' ^[20]
<i>ʔiga+</i>	Other	Complementizer	ʔiga+Ø+teeny-W	COMP+3ABS+stand-CMP	'that [he] was standing up' ^[21]
<i>tan+</i>	Person marking	1st person ergative, inclusive	tan+juj	1ERG:INCL+buy	'we buy' ^[22]
<i>ʔak+</i>	Valency adjusting	Causative	ʔak+kuʔt	CAUS+eat	'feed' ^[23]
<i>ʔagi+</i>	Other	Intensifier	ʔagi+wej	INTENS+cry	'cry a lot' ^[24]

Enclitics

Sierra Popoluca has nine enclitics, six of which are adverbial, two of which are inflectional, and one of which is a relativizer. Nouns can take all three types of enclitic whereas verbs can only take adverbial enclitics. Examples of each enclitic type are given in the table below:^[25]

Enclitic Examples

Enclitic	Type	Function	Word	Gloss	Translation
<i>+yaj</i>	Inflectional	3rd/nonhuman plural	tzaʔ+yaj	rock+NHPL	'rocks'
<i>+tyi</i>	Adverbial	"just"	yüʔüm+tyi	here+just	'just over here'
<i>+tam</i>	Inflectional	1st/2nd human plural	yoomo+tam	woman+HPL	'women'
<i>+püʔk</i>	Relativizer	Relativizer	tum pukuuku yagatz+püʔk	one cloth large+REL	'a cloth that's large'
<i>+nam</i>	Adverbial	"still"	tzüüxi+nam	small+still	'still small'

Reduplication

Reduplication of the root (full reduplication) is observed with both nouns and verbs in Sierra Popoluca, and can be inflectional or derivational.^[26] Though generally used to convey intensity or frequency, reduplication can also express "a sense of wandering around repeating an action"^[26] when paired with the ambulative suffix *-ʔoʔy*.^[27] Various examples of reduplication are given in the table below:

Reduplication Examples

Function	Word	Gloss	Translation
Derivational	looko~looko	sound~REDUP	'shout' ^[27]
Frequency, intensity	ʔaʔm~ʔaʔm	look~REDUP	'watch' ^[28]
Ambulative	monh~monh-ʔoʔy	sleep~REDUP-AMBUL	'sleep from place to place' ^[28]
Frequency, intensity	was~was	bite~REDUP	'bite repeatedly' ^[29]
Intensity	ʔuk~ʔuk	drink~REDUP	'drink all' ^[29]

Compounding

Compounding is observed in all word classes in Sierra Popoluca and is highly productive.^[30] Various examples of compound words are given in the table below:

Compounding Examples

Structure	Word	Gloss	Translation
N=N	mok=yooya	corn=pig	'peccary' ^[30]
N=V	pooy=ʔix	moon=see	'menstruate' ^[31]
N=N	tzuj-i=nüʔ	spit-NOM=water	'saliva' ^[30]
ADJ=N	müj=pak	big=bone	'waist' ^[32]
N=V	manük=wat	child=make	'impregnate' ^[31]

Syntax

Sierra Popoluca is an ergative-absolutive, head-marking language. At minimum, the basic clause can consist of just a predicate, as shown below:^[33]

ʔa+seet-pa
~~1~~~~ABS~~:~~EXCL~~+return-~~INC~~
 'I return.'

At maximum, it can include an inflected complex predicate and up to three modified arguments:^[33]

ʔan+jaatunh 1 POSS : EXCL +father	ʔi+maʔy=chiʔ-W 3 ERG +sell=give- COMPL	tunh.gak one.another
püüxiny man	jeʔm that	ʔan+yooya 1 POSS : EXCL +pig
'My father sold another man my pig.'		

Basic word order

Word order in Sierra Popoluca is pragmatically determined for the most part. In transitive sentences, all six possible word orders are attested, as shown below:^[34]

VSO

ʔokmü after	ʔi+maʔy-W 3ERG+sell-COMPL	ʔan+tüüwü 1POSS:EXCL+brother
jeʔm that	potro colt	
'Afterward, my brother sold the mare.'		

VOS

ʔi+ʔix-W 3ERG+see-COMPL	kaʔnpu egg	jeʔm that
choomo grandmother	nüʔ-küʔ.mü water-at/during	
'The old woman saw the egg in the water.'		

SVO

jeʔm that	yoomo woman	ʔagi+ʔi+ʔaʔm-W INT+3ERG+look-COMPL
jeʔm that	tzuʔukiny worm	
'The woman looked intensely at the worm.'		

SOV

jay=tzüüx+tyam+yaj boy=child+HPL+NHPL	woonyi+tyam girls+HPL	ʔi+mük.ʔüʔy.ʔaʔy-yaj-pa 3ERG+lie.ANTIP.BEN-3PL-INC
'The boys cheat the girls.'		

OVS

yüʔp this	many=mok young=corn	ʔi+na+miny-W+ʔam 3ERG+ASS+come-COMPL+IAM
ʔin+müʔüt 2ERG+son.in.law		
'Your son in law brought this corn.'		

OSV

mich 2PRO	ʔin+choomo 2POSS+grandmother	dya NEG
jeʔm+püʔk that+REL	mi+toy-taʔm-pa 2ABS+love-1:2PL-INC	
'Your grandmother doesn't love you.'		

In intransitive sentences, both possible word orders are attested:^[35]

SV

jeʔm the	toro bull	tzaʔ-küʔüm stone-at/during
-------------	--------------	-------------------------------

Ø+nuʔk-pa
 3ABS+arrive-INC
 'The bull arrives at the rock.'

VS

Ø+nuʔk-W+ʔam jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+arrive-COMPL-IAM that woman
 'The woman arrives.'

However, not all word orders are used with equal frequency; an analysis of over 4,000 clauses from various texts found the following distribution of word orders in transitive and intransitive sentences:^[36]

Distribution of Word Orders by Transitivity

Transitive		Intransitive	
Order	Frequency	Order	Frequency
SVO	72.37%	SV	34.86%
VSO	5.26%	VS	65.14%
VOS	7.89%		
OVS	6.58%		
OSV	2.63%		
SOV	5.26%		

Relative word order

In terms of relative word order, Sierra Popoluca exhibits some structural features common to VO (verb initial) languages and some common to OV (verb final) languages. A few examples of these structures are given below:^[37]

- Possessor precedes possessum (common to OV languages)

diablo ʔi+jos
 devil 3POSS+hole
 'devil's hole (hell)'

- Auxiliary verb precedes main verb (common to VO languages)

püüxiny moj-W Ø+wej-i
 man begin-COMPL 3ABS+cry-DEF
 'The man began to cry.'

- Complementizer precedes complement clause (common to VO languages)

ʔi+ʔix-W+tyi+ʔam ʔiga+ʔüch dya
 3ERG+see-COMPL+just+IAM COMP+1PRO NEG
 ʔan+joʔy-kaʔ-W
 1ERG+EXCL+be.angry-INSTR-COMPL
 'He saw that I wasn't angry.'

Order of nominal modifiers

Nouns in Sierra Popoluca can be modified by determiners, adjectives, quantifiers, possessors, and relative clauses.^[38] Whether a modifier precedes or follows the noun it is modifying depends on the modifier, as illustrated below:

- Demonstratives precede the nouns they modify^[39]

ʔoy-taʔm-W	yüʔp	kootzük
go.and.return-1:2 _{PL} -COMPL	this	hill
‘We went to these hills.’		

- Adjectives precede the nouns they modify^[40]

ʔi+na+miny-wü	puro	muja
3 _{ERG} +ASS+come-COMPL	pure	wet
kuy		
tree		
‘He brought pure wet wood.’		

- Relative clauses may either precede or follow the nouns they modify^[41]

jeʔm	ʔi+na+ʔity-yaj-W	Ø+müjta+üpʔk
that	3 _{ERG} +ASS+be-3 _{PL} -COMPL	3 _{ABS} +big+REL
tük		
house		
‘They have houses that are big.’		

süʔüp	na+miny-ü	tuum
now	ASS+come-IMP	one
puktuuku	Ø+yagatz+üpʔk	
cloth	3 _{ABS} +long+REL	
‘Now, bring a cloth that's long.’		

Recordings

- Sierra Popoluca Collection of Lynda Boudreault (<https://www.ailla.utexas.org/islandora/object/ailla%3A124386>) from the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America. Contains 148 archival files, including audio recordings and transcripts from a wide range of genres.

Further reading

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